

British press critical of America's Formosa policy: "Recklessness"—*News Chronicle* "Fantastic set-up"—*Daily Mirror*

SKYMASTER PASSENGERS WERE VICTIMS OF SECRET WAR

Back to diplomacy

From a Political Correspondent

IT would be unjust if those of us who have for months and years urged the necessity of serious negotiation, and attacked Mr. Eden for his subservience to the United States, now failed to give him full credit for what he did at Geneva.

It may be true that he should have acted before, and that the change of policy came about partly through military compulsion, partly through intense pressure of public opinion, and partly through the Prime Minister's growing awareness of the military implications of the hydrogen bomb.

But Mr. Eden has now negotiated, he has resoundingly snubbed Mr. Dulles, he has displayed the flexibility and the virtuosity which make negotiation worthwhile, and we ought to be heartily glad of it.

THE magnitude of the defeat of Mr. Dulles cannot be overstated. The Asiatic war which he has steadily, painstakingly and persistently prepared against Peking has been struck from his hands. With the end of the Indo-China fighting, the chance of confusing public opinion with another "police action" has been greatly diminished.

If the Administration now follows Senator Knowland and his friends into an intervention against China it will have to do so openly, and alone.

When Mr. Dulles went home from Geneva to sulk, it was as much a manifestation of the ostracism of American policy as a protest against the risk of peace.

Mr. Eden's thinly-disguised contempt was an accurate reflection of opinion throughout Europe, and it was mingled with regret that so great a nation should at the present time be represented in world affairs by such an individual and such a policy.

IT is even more important that diplomacy has returned.

It opens the prospect that conferences can now be held with the intention of bringing the opposing forces to terms, rather than of proving the necessity for war to a reluctant public.

Negotiation *per se* is not a source of peace. If the necessity of settlement is admitted by both contestants, public conferences are not needed.

But there comes a point where the pressure of public opinion forces governments to compromise, and, above all, to rule war out of court because public opinion will not permit it.

That point has been reached, it seems.

The tide of influence is no longer flowing from the Conference room as a source of propaganda to the public, who are to be convinced that negotiation is fruitless. It is flowing very strongly from the public, which is insisting upon compromise, to the Governments which have so far wished to avoid it.

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The agreements on Indo-China

1. Hostilities to cease in the Red River Delta and in Annam by Sunday, July 25; progressively in the rest of the warring regions.
2. The division to be roughly along the 17th Parallel, Hanoi and Haiphong being included in the Viet-Minh area.
3. French and Viet Nam forces to vacate the Hanoi-Haiphong region before May 20, 1955.
4. Viet Minh forces in the South to vacate the areas they now occupy by the same date.
5. There must be no reinforcement, building of bases, or destruction, sabotage, or political reprisals by either side.
6. Prisoners on both sides must be freed before August 20, 1954.
7. An international commission composed of India, Poland and Canada, with commissions made up of representatives of Viet Minh and Viet Nam will supervise the execution of agreements.
8. Elections in Laos to take place before the end of 1955; in Viet Nam before July 20, 1956.

Trigger-happy militarists endanger world peace

THE shooting down of the Skymaster and the destruction of its unfortunate passengers is one more tragedy arising out of the cold war.

Whether the greater blame is to be attached to the crews of the Chinese fighters in not perceiving that the aeroplane they were firing upon was a passenger vessel or to the authorities who sent them up to intercept it is of secondary importance.

Two things stand out very clearly. The first is that the tragedy arises from the state of war between the Formosa Government and China, and the second is that the Chinese Government has expressed genuine regret that its forces have been responsible for the tragedy.

PROVOCATION

On the first of these points we recall the AP message sent out from Formosa which we quoted in Peace News for June 11:

"Chinese Nationalist warships and planes have attacked Communist installations in Sannien Bay, on the mainland coast."

Such provocative incidents are a commonplace, and they are encouraged by the US authorities.

Although Formosa is some 100 miles from the mainland, the Nationalist-occupied island of Quemoy is only two or three miles from the Communist mainland port of Amoy.

On the second point the prompt unqualified expression of regret by the Chinese Government should be noted. This is something new since the development of the cold war, and it is by no means beyond possibility that the US, three days after the attack on the Skymaster—when the possibility of discovering further survivors was exceedingly small—sent fighters into the area as a provocative act in order to prevent a relaxation of tension.

The Chinese expression of regret and immediate offer of compensation is without parallel in earlier incidents. Demands in like circumstances made upon Russia by Britain, Sweden and the USA have not received a similar favourable response; and a demand made by Russia upon the USA for compensation for a transport aeroplane brought down by an American fighter over China was also rejected.

"SHOWPIECE" FOR GENERALS

The Hong Kong correspondent of the Daily Express, Russell Spurr, had this to say on Tuesday of the American-advised—and armed—troops on Quemoy:

"Quemoy has become such a showpiece, such a symbol of resistance, that it is a must on the itinerary of touring American generals and senators. A six-hour trip gives VIPs time to glower at the Reds, duck an occasional incoming shell, and pull the lanyard of a well-polished artillery piece loaded with appropriately inscribed ammunition. 'A present for Mao,' 'Send a splinter to Malenkov' sigh out across the strait and burst well within binocular view."

The British press, almost without exception, has followed up mention of the Chinese apology for the inexcusable shooting down of the Skymaster with comments urging an end to the cold war in this corner of Asia.

The following are some comments from Tuesday's newspapers:

THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN

"The whole wretched affair from beginning to end serves to underline one lesson. That is the need to try to reduce tension in Eastern Asia. While the Chinese Nationalists are encouraged to prod and raid the mainland, while the Chinese Communists maintain an attitude of flaunting defiance towards the United States and United Nations, and while the American authorities behave as if the Chinese Communists ought to be slapped down on every possible occasion, sparks are bound to fly and may start great fires."

THE DAILY MAIL

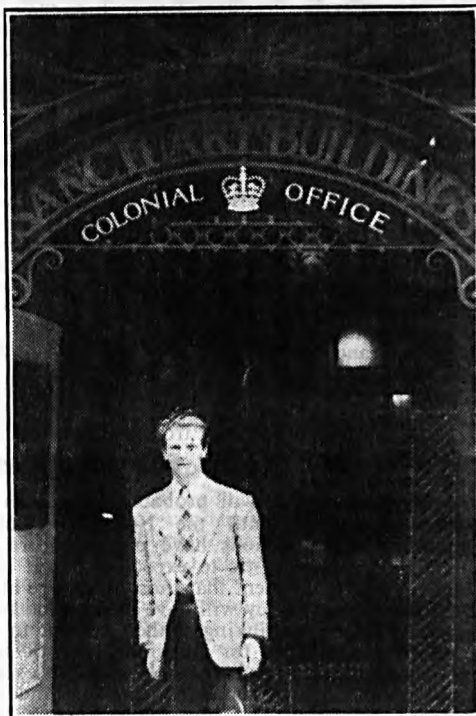
The Daily Mail's Washington Correspondent, Wilson Broadbent, reporting "the extraordinary statement" by US Admiral Felix B. Stump that US warships and aircraft have standing instructions to be "quick on the trigger," said:

"Yet another surprising announcement from Admiral Stump was that the two aircraft-carriers sent to the scene of the tragedy of the lost British air-liner are operating under direct orders from Admiral Robert D. Carney, Chief of Naval Operations in Washington."

"Some weeks ago," Wilson Broadbent continued, "Admiral Carney shocked a lot of people by advocating in a public speech, the necessity of facing up to Red China, even if it meant war."

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AGAINST COLONIALISM



"My resignation is a protest against three injustices: the continued existence of a system of colonialism as such, its brutal expression at the present time, and the restriction of the political freedom of civil servants," Ian Dixon wrote to the Establishment Officer of the Colonial Office in a letter giving one month's notice of his intention to leave the Colonial Service.

Ian Dixon, seen here leaving the Colonial Office building in London for the last time, is secretary of the Peace Pledge Union's Pacifist Youth Action Group. He has refused to undertake military service under the National Service Act.

STUART MORRIS writes on an issue raised by the Labour Party dispute over German Rearmament

POLITICAL PARTIES AND DEMOCRACY

A RECENT leading article in the Manchester Guardian, based on a translation of M. Maurice Duverger's book on political parties, states that since the beginning of the century parties have become the most important political institutions, common to totalitarian and democratic states alike, since they are the general instruments through which power is exercised.

This has meant that through them are applied all the techniques of compulsion and persuasion with greater or less brutality.

Democracy itself is no guarantor of liberty, equality, fraternity or justice. It is the name given to a political system, not a collective noun to cover all the most desirable political ideals.

The essence of democracy is that it gives to all adult citizens the right and the duty to share in the exercise of political power.

But such a right has come to be exercised in states containing millions of citizens through internal parties, which are, as they become increasingly autocratic or oligarchic, a threat to real democracy.

Such a warning is necessary and should be taken to heart not least by the Labour Party

AFTER GENEVA WHAT?

WHEN we expressed the hope that the successful Geneva negotiations would lead to a new attempt to apply the same method with the same persistence to the problem of Germany, we had not thought that Mr. Molotov would act so quickly.

Through the invitation from the Soviet Government to all European governments and to the USA to a conference on European Security, with Peking sending an observer, he has seized the initiative in a way which presents a new challenge to the Western powers.

It may be that private talks at Geneva with M. Mendes-France and Mr. Eden encouraged him to hope that neither would reject such an invitation out of hand.

That it has been immediately met with suspicion and alarm in some quarters is unfortunately almost inevitable in a world in which some people will never accept an offer at its face value, but continue to distrust Communist policy however it is expressed, and immediately look for some ulterior motive, even when Russia and China respond to a challenge to show that their intentions are peaceful.

Take, for instance, the Sunday Times which hopes the offer will be treated with the utmost caution.

"We want peace and security in Europe no less than in Asia but there is no price we need to pay for it. We can negotiate from a position of strength given us by NATO and the promise of EDC."

But at Geneva the West were negotiating from a position of relative weakness, and if the Chinese had decided to negotiate from strength and ask for the unconditional surrender of France, which their military position might have tempted them to do, the result might well have been a third world war instead of a settlement.

The talk of victory for the Communists in Indo-China only falsifies and embitters the situation. The only victory there was won for and by commonsense over fear, and negotiation over violence.

You can do this

We believe that the influence of the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary helped to prevent the use of an atom bomb and of the American Fleet in Indo-China, and we hope that they will now use their influence to prevent any action in Europe which might lead to world war.

We urge our readers to write at once to both Sir Winston Churchill and Mr. Anthony Eden expressing in the strongest possible terms the need for the British Government to accept Mr. Molotov's invitation and take the Soviet plan as a basis for new negotiations, whether America is present or not.

where the attempt to enforce a code of conduct on the executive and a strict discipline on MPs is threatening the very essentials of democracy.

The controversy over German rearmament is a case in point.

Though official leaders may pay tribute to the conscientious motives of those who oppose their policy, there is a serious attempt to close down the opposition both in the Trade Union movement and in the political Labour Party.

Criticism essential

When the Labour Party's recent code of conduct was published Peace News pointed out that it was grossly unfair to attempt to prevent any formal expression of the views of the opponents when there was to be an official pamphlet supporting German rearmament.

That pamphlet has been criticised in Peace News, and, though it may be a technical breach of the code, it is all to the good that it has also been answered in the Tribune pamphlet "It Need Not Happen."

Such criticism is essential if every member of the Labour Party is to exercise political power through the normal machinery of party government. He must hear an adequate expression of both sides of the case.

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PEACE NEWS

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REASON FOR HOPE

IT may be hoped that the ending of the war in Indo-China will mark the beginning of a new phase in international relationships in the period following World War II. It is apparent that with the advent of M. Mendes-France something new has appeared, something that the world has been badly needing.

We have still a distance to traverse before we shall find an outstanding statesman realising that the courage of pacifism is the kind of realism that can best help the world today. We have come rather near to that in India and it is to be hoped that before it is too late we shall see some realisation of this truth in Europe. M. Mendes-France is of course far from being a pacifist; but he is one who has shown a disposition to face the facts of life in this present age. When in June last year there seemed to be a possibility that he might then form a French Government he gave a clear indication that his views as to the possibility of France being a "power" in the world differed from the traditional conception.

When it actually fell to him to form a Government in June of this year he made it immediately clear that he was bringing something to the task that was lacking by his predecessor, and it is a great encouragement that it is precisely the qualities that M. Mendes-France has manifested that have achieved success.

Virtue in politics is inseparable from intelligence. For a good man in politics needs to have intellectual integrity, and to have intellectual integrity he must have intelligence. It is just this quality of intelligence that so often of late years seems to have been lacking in international politics.

There has been smartness, and the suspicion that goes with the fear of being outsmarted, but remarkably little real intelligence. It is this quality of intelligence that statesmen like John Foster Dulles and Henry Cabot Lodge, Junior, so conspicuously lack. Despite the interests they so clearly have to serve they doubtless see themselves as righteous men; it is the absence of real intelligence that enables them to act no better than self-righteous men.

This quality of intelligence M. Mendes-France seems to have brought into international politics and he has thus encouraged others who have it to use it, too. In the Indo-China settlement, Mr. Dulles, and the America represented by Mr. Dulles, have been relegated to the background, and it is to be hoped that the other America—the America that can produce intelligence and intellectual integrity to match that of the France that M. Mendes-France has represented—will now come to the fore.

We believe that there should now be an ideological drawing together of Britain and France and that they should seek to provide the leadership that the Western world so greatly needs—not the leadership of armed power, but the leadership of moral perception. We do not say world leadership, it should be noted, because the West can have no special claim to lead the peoples of Asia and Africa. Indeed it is in a capacity to see that the half of the world that had hitherto been regarded as material to be led or driven has a great deal of value to teach the West, that part of the qualification for leadership in the West must reside.

It is encouraging that the new view that M. Mendes-France is expressing in French politics does not end with the Indo-Chinese situation. His attitude to French North Africa is reputed to be very different from that of the earlier administrations, and he is aiming at providing greater autonomy for these peoples.

We hope that he will be capable of thinking in sufficiently generous terms to make this possible.

It would be good if France, after having been so badly behind the British in facing realities in dealing with the peoples of Asia, were to provide Britain with an example in facing the same kind of realities in Africa.

M. Mendes-France has taken a fine and imaginative step in releasing Habib Bourguiba, the leader of the Tunisian Neo-Destour Movement, from his confinement on the island of Groix and bringing him to a chateau at Amilly in France, where it may be hoped that talks and negotiations on a different plane from those that have gone forward hitherto will be entered upon.

In his broadcast from Geneva four days before the agreement was signed, M. Mendes-France expressed the hope that success at the Geneva Conference would bring a breach in the thick wall of suspicion that got in the way in all international relations. "The greatest enemy," he said, "was a morbid and paralysing mistrust, a virtually irresistible tendency to believe nothing, to admit nothing, and very nearly to hope for nothing."

These are fresh and hopeful words; words of a kind we were beginning to despair of ever hearing from a statesman. We hope they may mark the beginning of a new and more courageous approach to the problems that have to be solved.

Negotiation from weakness

IN addition to M. Mendes-France, Mr. Eden, Mr. Molotov and Krishna Menon deserve our thanks and congratulations for the part they played at Geneva in securing a "happy issue out of all our afflictions."

For that indeed is what it might become if these statesmen, and Chou En-lai can now be inspired to show the same courage and persistence in applying similar methods to the other flash-points in international affairs.

It is well to remember that in this case at least the West were negotiating from weakness rather than from strength, and that if the East were in a stronger position, they too had "weak points" in their case, which made them ready to accept a solution which offered considerably less than they first proposed.

Welcome and condemnation

VARIOUS reactions to the achievement of the settlement are worth observing. The Indian Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, naturally welcomed it and said that although the settlement was a great step forward it is only a step and has to be followed by persistent efforts at further settlements.

The Pakistan Prime Minister, Mohammed Ali, also welcomed the agreement. He commented:

"Now that the Gordian knot has been cut in Indo-China, Pakistan hopes that France will take up other problems facing her, like Tunisia and Morocco, with a view to settling them in the same admirable spirit."

The Prime Minister of Ceylon, Sir John Kotelawala, described it with satisfaction as "one more nail in the coffin of colonialism."

President Tito of Jugo-Slavia described the agreement as "a serious contribution to the cause of consolidation of peace in the world."

The Foreign Minister of the Chiang Kai-shek Government, George Yeh, condemned the agreement as marking for the Communists "another milestone in their plan of world conquest." The Japanese Foreign Office, however, welcomed the agreements with "great pleasure" and expressed the view that they would be followed by a "peace offensive" by Communist China.

Dr. Hong Kee-harl spoke for the South Korean Government. He described the agreement as a disgrace. "No one, not even the French," he said, "can call it an honourable truce." South Korea had previously offered to send a division of troops to fight in Indo-China.

Now for reappraisal

IT will probably be necessary to wait until the November Congressional elections have passed before it will be realistic to expect it, but it is now very evident that those in charge of American policy will have to do some fundamental rethinking if they are not to be responsible for plunging the world into war.

Looking back over the events preceding the settlement in Indo-China we perceive that if the French doubt about the wisdom of pouring more life and treasure after the resources that had already been wasted in this futile struggle to uphold French colonialism had not been backed by British opposition to the insistence of the USA, we should by now at the best have been committed to an indefinite continuation of the tragic campaign in Indo-China and at the worst to world war.

BEHIND THE NEWS

The urgent pressure to push forward with SEATO now is motivated at least as much by the American desire to save its face following this defeat for its policy as by its estimate of the facts of the world situation. This is made very evident—and very menacing by the comments of President Eisenhower at a press conference following the Geneva true agreements.

In reply to questions he explained that it was not his view that "the Communist world" wants war. He does not believe that the Communists would deliberately challenge "the free world" to a war of exhaustion.

"There remains the danger of great areas still being lost through propaganda, deceit, subversion and coup d'état—all means which are available to a secret well-financed conspiracy."

An incidental comment may be made on this remark that it seems to describe precisely what has taken place in Guatemala.

What has to be faced, if the President's assessment of the situation is sound, is that the piling up of armaments and the construction of a network of military agreements have little relevance to it unless these armaments and military pacts are to be used in an aggressive sense, for subversion and the internal coup d'état are not to be dealt with by military means unless it is intended that they are to be dealt with by invasion or by bombing from the air (or by intimidation by means of the threat of bombing from the air, as in Guatemala).

If the dangers described by the President are what the West has to fear as a result of Communist activity the way to meet them is not by the construction of NATO's and SEATO's but by the direction of the policies of "free world" to the bringing of freedom to the subjugated peoples of that free world and the bringing of assistance to the underdeveloped countries not as "mutual security" aid, but as aid pure and simple.

Setting a new tone

WRITING in The Observer while the proceedings at Geneva were still hanging fire, Mr. Edward Crankshaw concluded his comments:

"What we are waiting for is more than the answer to Indo-China—we are waiting for what must be, in effect, a major declaration of Soviet policy and mood which could set the tone of the East-West struggle for a long time to come."

This is a typical example of the claim that the Communist governments must show evidence of a conciliatory spirit if their will for peace is to be taken seriously.

Well, that major declaration of policy and mood has been made, and despite a decided tendency in the Press since the settlement to emphasise what has been sacrificed at Geneva and the painful acceptance of defeat that France has had to face, the major declaration has not been an ungenerous one and if it really is to "set the tone of the East-West struggle for a long time to come" it should meet with a response from the West that may be equally helpful to

a better climate of opinion in international relationships.

For if France has had to pay dearly in arriving at this settlement the payments were made before the Geneva meeting and were the penalty of a tragically mistaken policy to which she had been held by American pressure.

The settlement was in fact made a good deal easier than it might have been by the attitude of China and Russia. The partition at the 17th Parallel was an accommodating compromise offered by the East in response to the claim of the West, and the long period agreed to before elections are to take place is considerably greater than was anticipated.

It is true that China and Russia can afford to take a liberal view on this question for nobody doubts that, in the present state of opinion in Indo-China, when the elections do take place they will show a heavy majority of supporters for Ho Chi-minh; this fact is in itself, of course, a commentary on the criminality of the war.

With China and the Viet Minh, Russia has supported the case for free elections in Indo-China, as it is right they should be supported. The same considerations, however, apply in regard to Germany, East as well as West. If Russia could now put forward, in connection with its suggestion for renewed discussions, proposals for German unity based on the holding of free elections on the same plan as in Indo-China it would be a magnificent second step in replacing the cold war by providing the conditions for peaceful co-existence.

Not an "about turn"

TO suggest, as did the Manchester Guardian and also to some extent, Mr. Attlee, that the voting at the Congress of the West German Social Democratic Party represented an "about turn" and a rejection of disarmament is not a fair statement of the case.

Though the Congress pledged support for the defence of freedom, even by military methods, if the necessity should arise, the successful resolution called for a further attempt to procure the reunification of Germany by negotiations between the occupying powers and condemned the inclusion of any part of occupied Germany, whether West or East, in any security pact.

The SDP have never gone on record as opposing German rearmament in certain eventualities, but they still reject EDC as they have always done, and it is significant that from Essen, Dortmund, Göttingen and Frankfurt came motions strongly rejecting the rearmament of Germany in any form.

Britain and Guatemala

THE British Government has sent a note to the Government of Colonel Castillo Armas, formally recognising its regime as the Government of Guatemala.

It is claimed that this can be legitimately done as it has been established that the new regime is in fact exercising full control over its territory.

What has not yet been established is whether or not Guatemala has been the victim of an aggression in which foreign powers are involved. This question is to come before the Security Council when the Organisation of American States is ready to pass on the results of its very lackadaisical examination of the facts.

It would surely have been rather more seemly for the British Government to have waited for the completion of this farce before announcing this recognition.

LETTER FROM THE USA

By JOHN M. SWOMLEY, Jr.

SENATOR WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, Republican, of California, has stated that he would resign his position as majority leader of the Senate and work to take the United States out of the United Nations if Communist China were admitted to the United Nations. He has also indicated that an effort would be made to attach a rider to the Foreign Aid Appropriations Bill which would shut off US funds from UN if China were admitted.

As a result of Knowland's pressure and the announcement that a bi-partisan Congressional bloc had been formed to support his position, both Eisenhower and Dulles, who had earlier not been unfriendly to China's entry into UN, announced their opposition.

The New York Times, on July 7, in a story from UN headquarters said:

"It has been taken for granted here that if Washington dropped its opposition, Communist China would get a thumping majority. Many countries that have voted against it have done so only on the basis that they did not think its admission would be worth the risk of a break, formal or political, between the United States and the United Nations."

If U.S. withdrew from UNO

There are roughly two points of view held here about the United Nations if the US were to withdraw:

1. A walkout would result in the death of UN. The loss of a permanent member of the Security Council and the Trusteeship Councils would impair UN work. Financially one third of the budget now borne by US would be loaded onto other nations and UN relief and technical aid projects would collapse. The withdrawal of the US would hurt the non-Communist world and by removing a check on the Soviet would make a global war more likely.

2. A walkout would in effect turn the UN

over to control of the Soviet Union and China, thus giving a new moral and political stature to the Communist bloc. The Communists would blame the US for being unwilling to participate in a group they couldn't dominate and would intensify propaganda aimed at showing the US is so intent on war it can't work within a world organisation.

Those who believe that China should be admitted to the UN generally hold that it should be done either through:

1. An effort to achieve enough votes in the General Assembly to make China a member

America, China and UNO

and then to persuade the US not to use a veto in the Security Council by abstaining if we cannot vote yes. Or,

2. Acceptance by the United Nations of the principle of universality of membership for all *de facto* governments. Future membership thus would be determined not by the political likes or dislikes of present members but by the question of whether any government was really in control and recognised as such either by a world court or by other responsible governments.

Those who oppose admission of China generally advance the following arguments:

1. It would strengthen Communist influence in the General Assembly and in the Security Council by giving two out of the five permanent members (who have vetoes) to the Communist bloc.

2. It would oust or weaken the claim to membership of Nationalist China which is now largely confined to the island of Formosa. (This would set back the cause of those who want to keep open the possibility of a Nationalist reconquest of the Chinese mainland.)

3. China does not qualify as a peace-loving state because she went to war against United Nations forces in Korea and has been

branded an aggressor. To admit her would be to reward aggression or to recognise that it is possible to shoot one's way into the UN.

Those who favour admission of China generally advance the following arguments:

1. Exclusion of governments for political reasons will destroy the world nature of the UN. Other Communists and other totalitarian governments of both Right and Left are members. Why not admit every nation?

2. Exclusion of China is steadily weakening the UN. No important decision affecting

Asia can be made without taking China into consideration. This is the real reason the negotiations over Indo-China had to take place at Geneva instead of in the UN. If Communist nations either in part or wholly are to be left out of the UN or treated as other than full-fledged members, the UN will steadily be by-passed and will die.

3. US efforts to exclude China seem to other nations evidence of a desire to control the UN for its political purposes and of chagrin that China has gained a position of leadership in Asia. Because of this the US while continuing to exercise some political control, is rapidly losing moral leadership and the real confidence of the UN.

4. A settlement or a stabilisation of East-West problems in Asia will be extremely difficult and in the case of Korea impossible as long as China is kept out of the UN.

5. China at present is almost entirely dependent on Russia for industrial and agricultural machinery, technical training and diplomatic connections with the rest of the world. This economic and diplomatic dependency will continue and there will be no likelihood of detaching China from the Soviet bloc (or as the Marxists put it, "exploiting the contradictions" between China

and Russia) so long as China is kept out of the UN and ostracised by the West.

6. The present government in China seems to be firm and many other nations such as the British believe the Communist government is there to stay. The British are not eager to repeat the mistake made after World War I when they encouraged and participated in war against the Russian Communists. This conflict, still remembered in the Soviet Union, is one of the big factors which has contributed to Russia's continuing distrust of the West. The British believe that the US by supporting Chiang Kai-shek, withholding recognition of China, and opposing its entry into the UN, are similarly alienating China for years to come.

Asian view of China

7. Throughout the leadership of the Chinese Communist Government are a number of Party members educated in the West or in China by Western teachers. "Because of their education and because they have a standard of comparison, they are more amenable to argument than the next generation of Communist leaders will be." The British believe "this is the time, perhaps the only time, when some impression can be made on the Chinese Communist leaders." (The New York Times, June 27, 1954.)

8. To some extent China has become a "martyr" or symbol to Asian and colonial nations of the way in which Western imperialist and white nations act when an Asian nation tries to move into the Council of nations on a basis of equality. This psychologically moves nations like India and Burma closer to China than might normally be the case. Western relationships with India would be much worse if it were not for the creative relationship between her and Britain. So long as China is not in the UN this fact will be an issue and rallying point for many other nations dividing them psychologically from the West.

Political tests proposed for broadcasters in U.S.A.

THE group of Americans who run two radio stations, KPFA and KPFB, are protesting against a proposed new law which would introduce political investigation of broadcasters and radio operators in the USA.

The two stations are owned by Pacifica Foundation, a largely pacifist non-profit corporation in Berkeley, California. They run KPFA and KPFB as a practical expression of peace-making. Programmes include a wide range of views on social, religious and political questions. Their high standard and the absence of sponsored programmes has earned for the system a well deserved reputation.

So highly is the service valued that when a few years ago KPFA closed down because of a lack of financial support, the Foundation discovered that they had listeners in a much wider area in the Far West than they thought. These rallied to KPFA's support and brought the station back on the air again.

On June 10, this year, the Federal Communications Commission of the USA said that it proposed amending the rules which deal with an individual's eligibility to hold commercial operators' licenses or permits.

Inconsistent with the law

A statement issued by Pacifica Foundation says:

The Commission proposes to make ineligible to hold a commercial radio operator's license any person who is a member of the Communist Party, a Communist front organisation, or any organisation which advocates the overthrow of the Government by force or violence, and to make this a factor in the determination of "good moral character" of an applicant for an operator's license.

The Commission has authority to establish the qualifications of commercial radio operators. In the past judgment has been made on the basis of technical and professional competence to operate a radio station. In the June 10 proposal, however, the Commission claims authority to disqualify a radio operator by reason of political belief.

The regulatory power of the FCC is limited by Section 326 of the Communications Act 1934, which holds that "nothing in this chapter shall be understood or construed to give the Commission the power of censorship over radio communications or signals transmitted by any radio station, and no regulation or condition shall be promulgated by the Commission which shall interfere with the right of free speech by means of radio communication." The newly proposed regulations appear to be inconsistent with the law and with the constitutional guarantees of freedom of the individual and the press.

We reject the Commission's proposal as an encroachment of the Federal Government on the freedom of the individual and on the freedom of the press. Should political opinion be established as a qualification for broadcasting, programme policy as well as technical operation could be involved; political beliefs other than Communism could serve as a basis for disqualification.

A censorship

The vast majority of radio stations throughout the country have personnel with operating licenses who also serve other broadcasting tasks; at KPFA and KPFB, most of the staff is at present licensed. Furthermore, if the Commission claims the power to exclude operators by political test, then it could also claim the power to exclude from the air broadcasters, guests, interviewees, etc., thus taking upon itself a censorship role.

Missionaries and Buganda "PERPLEXED AND SURPRISED"

THE Church Missionary Society has issued a statement on Uganda in the course of which it remarks:

"Officers and missionaries of the Society have themselves been perplexed and surprised by events and, contrary to rumours circulated in some quarters, were in no way consulted or forewarned by any party to the dispute prior to the withdrawal of recognition from the Kabaka. A close study of all the available evidence suggests that in an admittedly transitional period in the political evolution of Buganda, as of the whole Protectorate, there were radical differences of view as to the significance of the 1900 Agreement."

The statement points out that missionaries have worked continuously in Buganda since 1877 and remarks that "against the background of this long and intimate relationship the Society extends to all Buganda its deep sympathy in their present perplexity."

Footnote: The 1900 Agreement governs the relations between Britain and Buganda. Under its terms, the British Government agreed to recognise the Kabaka as the Native ruler of the Province, under Her Majesty's protection and overrule, so long as the Kabaka and the chiefs co-operated loyally with the Government in the organisation and administration of Buganda.

Teachers and the H-bomb

A COMMITTEE (to be known as the Hydrogen Bomb Campaign—Teachers Committee) has been set up to aid the campaign for signatures to the Petition and to continue and develop the work of the H-bomb Committee among teachers and those particularly interested in education. It is intended that the Committee shall have no political or other affiliations but it will welcome membership and co-operation from any individual willing to help. P. G. Addison, 1a Hope Park, Bromley, Kent, is the Secretary.

It costs the US Government \$30,000 (£10,714) per hour for the storage of surplus farm products. The surplus, and the cost of storage, continues to grow.

A fundamental part of KPFA's programming is the presentation of a wide range of views on social, religious, and political questions. In political discussions, the station not only presents a range of Republican and Democratic views, but also the views of Anarchists, Socialists, Communists, as well as viewpoints of the far Right.

Under the proposed ruling, with its logical extensions, whether this service could be continued is in question.

We question whether membership in a political party—even the Communist Party—constitutes a good test of moral character.

(1) The FCC proposes that past membership in the Communist Party or in a Communist-front organisation is a significant factor in determining character qualifications of applicants. We recall that only ten years ago the United States and Soviet Russia were allies and many persons were associated with Communists. We submit that moral prin-

ciples and factors are not this temporal.

(2) If good moral character is in question because of the advocacy of force and violence in overthrowing the government, then Thomas Jefferson, George Washington and Alexander Hamilton were men of bad moral character.

Time-honoured freedoms

Radio communication, as one of the chief mass media of communication, bears the responsibility to uphold the time-honoured and time-tested foundations of freedom possible in a democratic republic. The introduction of either religious or political tests as necessary qualification requirements violates the basic tenets of free expression.

Pacifica Foundation, and Radio Stations KPFA and KPFB are dedicated to those fundamental freedoms and will not acquiesce in their violation. Therefore, we respectfully request that the Commission recognise the adequacy of the present regulations and qualifications.

Two of the fundamental pillars of our Constitution and laws have always been the right to control one's own business and property and the right to hold one's own religious and political opinions. Subject to the professional and technical standards of the Commission, Pacifica Foundation, the owner and operator of Stations KPFA and KPFB, stands by its right to select and employ engineers and operators of its own choice, based solely on their professional competence, and not subject to discriminatory and irrelevant tests of opinion.

CLERICAL CONVERSATION ON THE FUTURE OF HUMANITY — IF ANY

By Father F. H. Drinkwater

This conversation between two Roman Catholic priests is reproduced by kind permission of the Editor of the Catholic Herald.

"What's that you're reading? The Catholic Herald? Throw it away man. The Editor's gone pacifist. Didn't you read what he said to those unsuspecting students in North Staffordshire?"

"Yes, I read it. He certainly did not go pacifist. As far as I can see he had two main points. The first thing was he is against turning all wars into wars for religion, as though we were wholly right and our opponents wholly wrong."

"And what else is he against?"

"The second thing was that he is against Total War. Even in a just war he says we should stop short of wholesale destruction."

"All this is the same as being a pacifist, for practical purposes. Modern war is total war, whether we like it or not. Lord Montgomery is right—he said the other day that if war does break out, both sides will use atomic weapons."

"Another thing Montgomery said was that war might easily start unintended, through the political leaders losing control of the situation and finding they had gone too far."

"Yes, that's what he said. Nice prospect, isn't it? Well, the only conclusion I draw from that is that we have to be stronger and more brutal than the other side."

Statesmen

"Now look, don't say such things! You don't really mean brutal. Brutal means sub-human, doesn't it? It only complicates matters if we argue over mere words."

"All right, I'll take back brutal. What I mean is that we must be ruthless and resolute enough to inflict any amount of physical evil on so-called non-combatants, if the cause we are fighting for is important enough."

"To save Christianity, for instance?"

"No, no, you're not going to catch me out that way. No, but to save our civilised life and freedom from some utterly unscrupulous Power that would destroy them from the face of the earth. In such a war we should stop at nothing, I hope. Hydrogen bombs on their cities, if necessary. But you and I can't say whether it would be necessary or not; we have to leave that to the Governments and military leaders."

"Well, you know, it seems to me the statesmen need a bit of guidance from the people who profess to teach the moral law. You've just quoted Field-Marshal Montgomery about sliding into war by accident, so to speak. It's just as true about the methods of warfare. I've just been reading Churchill's 'Triumph and Tragedy.' Page 553 of that book seems to me just about the most appalling page ever printed since printing was invented."

"How do you make that out?"

"Mind you, I think Churchill is a very great Englishman, one of the greatest in history. I would not call him a war-monger either. And on modern weapons, those 'awful doom-laden secrets which science has wrested from nature,' Churchill can speak as impressively as any Archbishop. But when he finds himself actually in a war, some part of his moral judgment seems to go into abeyance."

"In this book he tells us frankly: 'There was never a moment's discussion as to whether the atomic bomb should be used or not.' British consent in principle was given even before the experimental explosion in America. It was President Truman who actually made the final decision, but Churchill says 'there was unanimous, automatic, and unquestioned agreement round our table; nor did I even hear the slightest suggestion that we should do otherwise.'"

"And he still thinks the decision was right."

He tells us himself that Japan was 'in chaos and on the verge of collapse,' and that 'we knew, of course, that the Japanese were ready to give up all conquests made in the war,' yet still, after 10 hectic days of ultimatums and leaflet-dropping and obliteration-bombing, Hiroshima was atom-bombed on August 6 and Nagasaki two days afterwards. Will you tell me if you can justify that?"

"I don't know enough of the facts either to justify it or condemn it. All I say is, it could be justified if the cause at stake was great enough. The old moral principles are good enough for me: the moral principle about direct intention and indirect results. All the atom-bombers (or their superiors) had to do was to direct their own intention to destroying whatever military objectives there might be in Hiroshima—and there would certainly be some—and then the death of 80,000 civilians could not be laid to their charge; it would be only an indirect consequence, not intended."

"Well, I say that would be misapplying what you call the 'old moral principles'; the military objectives would be nothing but a hypocritical excuse. The whole idea of atom-bombing a city is to terrorise. To compel surrender, as Churchill would say. What about the other moral principle that used to be universally upheld by theologians: namely, that war is fought by combatants, and that weapons of indiscriminate slaughter are therefore unjust?"

Ten Commandments

"Oh, I'm afraid all that discrimination-business is out of date. There are no real non-combatants nowadays, except children and old people, and it's reasonable to suppose that they have been evacuated from cities in war time."

"If discrimination is out of date, it is only because the Ten Commandments are forgotten when they become inconvenient. I agree with The Catholic Herald. Even before the atom bombs, war methods had already gone beyond what is right and lawful, when both sides went in for the wholesale terroristic bombing of cities. That was when the Christian conscience ought to have spoken up strongly, if it had anything to say."

"Perhaps you're right. Thank heaven you don't want to go back as far as Guernica! Well, it's too late now. Modern war is atomic war. If you object to atomic war, there is nothing for you except to go pacifist."

"I don't agree. Men are not the helpless pawns of Fate. We must try to control events, not merely wash our hands of them. We are men with free will, and a conscience to say what is right and wrong. If we have done wrong, we can repent and retrace our steps. And that is what the nations ought to do now; they ought to admit that indiscriminate warfare has been wrong, and renounce it openly. This hydrogen bomb, which is entirely and necessarily indiscriminate, makes a real opportunity to stop and think and start all over again."

"What's the use of talking like that? Can you see the Americans admitting they did wrong at Hiroshima? Can you see the Russians keeping any promise they made about anything? You could never get enough confidence and agreement to make a fresh start possible."

"We don't have to wait for other people. Britain could announce on its own behalf that in any future war it would avoid terror methods, and meanwhile would not make atom bombs or such-like."

END OF A CHAPTER



The ending of fighting in Indo-China has closed yet another chapter (the beginning of which we would put at the outbreak of the war in Korea) in the story of this newspaper's campaign against the futile policy of "peace through strength" as opposed to peace by negotiation.

Opinions which were being expressed almost alone in our columns during the weeks which followed the outbreak of the Korean war, and before the Peace with China campaign got under way, have now become a commonplace. Should we say respectable?

Today—

British opinion is solidly in favour of China's admission to UN;

"Peace through strength" is becoming suspect, if not discredited;

One in four in Britain are opposed to the use of the H-bomb under any circumstances;

The Press and Radio are less unwilling to let the pacifist view be heard.

We have a long way to go before we have a public opinion which will see that armaments are a menace, and that disarmament spells real security.

We can be confident, however, that we are on the right road. We can draw strength from the knowledge that the work of the pacifists who formed the Quaker teams at Geneva and Lake Success, undertaken in close co-operation with the Indian delegates, has borne fruit. We can go on with a lighter step to our goal: a disarmed world.

THE EDITOR

Contributions since July 16: £32 6s. 8d.
Total since January 1, 1954: £927 18s. 2d.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to Vera Brittain, Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

"You just haven't thought it out. Look at all the American bases in this country—what do you think they're here for? Do you propose to tell them to pack up and go home?"

"There would be lots of practical problems to settle, I know. But the first thing for Britain is to draw a line between what is right and what is wrong, in war, and stick to it and act on it."

"Too complicated altogether. The average Englishman's idea about war is that all war is sinful but you've just got to do it. That's what he says in his muddle-headed way, isn't it?"

"He certainly does, but only because nobody talks sense to him."

"It's no good talking sense to him. If you don't believe in atomic warfare, not even in retaliation, go pacifist and have done with it."

"No, that's too easy. Besides not being right."

"Oh! So you wouldn't actually invite the Russians to send their political commissars to run Whitehall?"

"Not at all. I'm afraid you haven't caught the idea. The first thing you want to remember is that there is a GOD."

"I hadn't forgotten."

"Haden't you? Well, God is the One who has the last word. The consequence of that, for those who believe in God, is that they don't need to FEAR. All this piling up of atom bombs, all these threats of massive retaliation and so on—what are they but FEAR? You atomic bomb mongers talk about being 'resolute'—but what it really means is you are afraid. You are going to act out of panic, act without a genuinely long view. And the Russians are full of fear, too; in fact, Moscow may well feel it has more reason to fear the West than the West has to fear Moscow."

"If things go on the way they are going, war is pretty certain, and pretty certain to be fatal to everybody. The only way out now seems to be to cast away fear, and resolutely go back to keeping the Ten Commandments."

"So I was considerably struck by something the Archbishop of Canterbury said the other day: 'The service the Church can render to the world in this situation is to say: "Fear not." That's very sound, I thought.'"

Personally, I prefer taking my opinions from the Pope."

Scientists

"Well one thing you can be absolutely sure of: you'll never hear the Pope approving the use of hydrogen bombs."

"You mean it's intrinsically evil? Well, you know, that's just what I can't see."

"Intrinsically, is such an unserviceable question-begging sort of word. For all I know there may be some good use for hydrogen bombs some day—to melt the Antarctic ice-cap, or something like that. What I say is there is no good use at any rate for hydrogen bombs in war, and it's better not even to make them."

"That's all very well, we should all like to see them banned, but you're not practical. You don't say what we should do, now, as things are."

"Who do you mean by 'we'? The Government? or the Catholic Church? or the individual citizen, scientist or air force man?"

"Well, take, for instance, the Catholic scientist working on hydrogen bombs. What would you say to him?"

"That's simple enough, anyhow. Tell him he ought to change his job. Tell him there's a God, and he should put God first. And I suppose that goes for you and me too."

"You mean we should change our job?"

"No, just act up to it, that's all."

"We are one in proclaiming to all mankind: War is contrary to the THE WORLD COUNCIL OF Evanston: What will the churches say?"

August will see the opening of the Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Evanston, Chicago, USA.

The Assembly, a parliament of over 160 Christian Churches, with an estimated membership of 170,000,000 members around the world, will have its first plenary session on Sunday, August 15. Preceding this, however, will be a fortnight of lectures in 12 Chicago seminaries where 1,500 ministers, church workers and laymen

will attend lectures led by church leaders from Europe, Asia and Africa.

The US Government is admitting a number of churchmen from Eastern Europe.

The First World Council at Amsterdam brought together some 150 churches for the first time in a permanent relationship. At Evanston, six years later, the churches will examine the way in which their announced intention to stay together

has in fact been carried out and it will show whether the churches are now ready to go forward together.

This new Christian venture has been nurtured and guided by many great churchmen, but by none more tenderly and wisely than by W. A. Visser 't Hooft, the well-loved Dutch churchman who is General Secretary of the World Council of Churches, and who writes on the gathering, which will have as its theme "Christ, the Hope of the World."

At Evanston the churches will examine the way in which this intention has in fact been carried out and will show whether the churches are now ready to do more, to go forward together.

WHAT will the Evanston Assembly have to say to the churches and the world?

When the Central Committee of the World Council met in Toronto in 1950, it undertook to choose a theme for the next Assembly.

To the church leaders gathered there, it seemed clear that in this day when so many are filled with doubts about the meaning of life and fearful of what the future will bring, the Christian church must speak a word of hope. Yet, this was not an easy theme.

The discussion since 1950 has shown that when we begin to talk seriously about the Christian hope we have to face very fundamental issues of the Christian faith. And on these there are many different opinions among us.

But then the World Council must not run away from such real issues. On the contrary, it exists in order that the churches may learn from one another and that they may give a common message to the world.

In the time since the Toronto meeting leaders in the churches have done a great deal of thinking about the content of the Christian hope. A commission of leading churchmen from all over the world was appointed to draw up a statement which should be presented to the Assembly on the theme, Christ—The Hope of the World.

At its first meeting in 1951, the commission members found great difficulty in finding a common way of expressing this hope. As time went on, however, it became possible for them to go beneath their differences of approach to the basic Christian convictions and to find a way of expressing the meaning of that hope.

When the delegates meet at Evanston they will have before them the results of the work of this commission, which has progressed with the continuing interest and help of groups and individuals in churches all over the world. Indeed it is doubtful that any ecumenical conference or meeting has ever had such wide-

WAR AND THE CHRISTIAN

Since 1945 it has been interesting to note that intolerance in the attitude of pacifists to non-pacifists has almost completely disappeared, and that the attitude to non-pacifist Christians to Christian pacifists has likewise improved beyond recognition. Yet it would be a pity if, because of our new-found tolerance and understanding, we refused to wrestle with the differences between us; for I cannot believe that in relation to the greatest problem of our time God is calling some men to support of the war method in certain circumstances, and calling others to its renunciation under all circumstances.

—Eric S. Tucker, Secretary of the Friends Peace Committee, letter to The Friend, July 9, 1954.

spread preparation in the churches themselves.

It is, of course, impossible to say now whether or not the Assembly itself will follow the lead given by the Advisory Commission, but it can be said that we have in our main theme a topic which has laid hold on us and will not release us from thinking it through.

It is also clear that the thinking of the churches has moved forward from the old sterile dichotomy between this-worldliness and other-worldliness, to a new awareness that it is only in the light of the eternal purpose and sure triumph of Christ that our activity here and now can have meaning.

In the terms of our main theme, this means that it is only when we look forward to the ultimate triumph of Christ, who is the only hope of the world, that we can gain the perspective which gives validity to our actions here and now.

It means, also, that we cannot live as the servants of the Lord who is to come in final victory, unless we are at work seeking to transform this life in accordance with his will. For the Lord who is to come is the Lord who has already come, and now rules over those who belong to him and to his church.

EVANSTON, then, will speak first to the world about hope.

In doing so however, the Assembly will also study the meaning of that hope in relation to six specific topics; the unity of the churches, the evangelistic task of the church and the church's responsibility in society, in international affairs, in inter-group relations, and for the vocation of the Christian layman.

During the first week of the Assembly the Delegates will meet in fifteen groups to discuss the main theme itself, and during the second week six sections will study the sub-themes.

Evanston will be a time of much discussing and much speaking. Yet the crucial question the voices of men the voice of the Lord of the is: Will the Assembly be able to hear beyond church, calling his people together so that they may speak not merely their common mind, but rather bear witness to his will and his promise for the church and for the world?

FROM EDINBURGH TO EVANSTON Some landmarks in World Church History

EDINBURGH, August 1937. World Conference on Faith and Order. Representatives of practically every race in Europe, also negroes, Chinese and Japanese, heard a report from Dr. John Mott of New York recommending the formation of a World Council of Churches. The conference issued a call to all Christians to practise affirmation of unity.

WESTMINSTER, June 1942. The Assembly of the Church of England approved a scheme moved by the Bishop of Chichester for amalgamating the Council of Christian Faith and Common Life, the Commission of the Churches for International Friendship and Social Responsibility, and the British section of the World Conference on Faith and Order into a single body to be called the British Council of Churches.

LONDON, September 1942. The British Council of Churches was formally inaugurated at a special service in St. Paul's Cathedral. Membership included 50 Anglican representatives, 25 from Free Churches, seven from the Church of Scotland, two from other Scottish Churches, six from Churches in Wales, five from Ireland, two from Salvation Army, two from Society of Friends, two from Unitarians, and eleven members from other bodies, and 20 Co-opted members.

GENEVA, February 1946. Provisional committee of the World Council of Churches drafted plans for the reconstituted World Assembly of the Council of Churches, agreed to convene an Assembly in Holland in 1948 and to set up a Commission on international Relations to speak in the name of the World Council of Churches on international matters.

CAMBRIDGE, August 1946. Private conference set up a commission as part of the structure of the World Council of Churches to study international problems as they affected the Church. Mr. John Foster Dulles of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America presided and said that one of the purposes of the Conference was to bring about closer relationships between Protestant and Orthodox Churches and that relations were pending with the Soviet branch of the Greek Orthodox Church which it was hoped would enter the World Council of Churches.

LAMBETH, July-August 1948. The eighth Lambeth Conference of the Anglican Communion declared war "utterly incompatible with the teaching of Jesus Christ"; called on all nations collectively to control the manufacture and use of atomic power and to pledge themselves never to use it for the cause of war.

AMSTERDAM, August-September 1948. First Assembly of the World Council of Churches attended by some 1,400 clerical and lay delegates representing 147 Protestant and Orthodox Churches in 44 countries. Most notable absentees were the Roman Catholic Church and Russian Orthodox Church. Individual Catholics had expressed interest but the Holy See had decided in June to refuse permission for Catholics to attend. The Russian Orthodox Church had been expected to attend but later adopted a resolution describing the Council as "a body which

is not really concerned with the unity of the Church but rather with the gaining of political and social influence." Dr. Visser 't Hooft said "The one hopeful element on the situation is that the reasons given for the negative decision are based on a complete misunderstanding of the true nature of our movement... we should keep the door open." Mr. John Foster Dulles addressed the Assembly on the problem of Communism and was answered by Professor Hromadka of Czechoslovakia. A report was approved which said the Christian Church should reject the ideologies of both Communism and Capitalism.

The Assembly outlined three possible positions which a Christian would be justified in taking on modern war in the light of Christian tradition: 1. Although a Christian might—or might not—participate, modern war could never be considered an act of justice. 2. It is a Christian's duty to defend international law by war if necessary. 3. All warfare is contrary to the Will of God and therefore not permissible for Christians.

CHICHESTER, July 1949. First meeting of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches adopted a statement on religious freedom which declared that the Churches themselves must bear no small part of the blame for the resentments among the under-privileged countries of the world, since their own efforts to realise a brotherhood of man have been so weak. "We call statesmen and all men who in every nation seek social justice to consider this truth: a peaceful and stable order can only be built upon foundations of righteousness, of right relations between man and God and between man and man." Statement was drawn up by the Bishop of Chichester (Dr. Bell), Dr. J. A. Mackay, USA, Bishop Ejelbu, Norway and Dr. Hromadka, Czechoslovakia.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, USA, November 1950. National Council of the Churches of Christ in the US set up after nine years of discussion and planning. It united eight major inter-denominational agencies and 25 Protestant and Orthodox denominational bodies.

ROLLE, SWITZERLAND, August 1951. Central Committee of the World Council issued seven point Christian peace programme.

LUCKNOW, INDIA, December 1952-January 1953. First meeting of the Central Committee WCC in Asia. Discussed the Asian situation as it affected the Christian Churches and cabled UN urging efforts to prevent the extension of the Korean war and for a united effort to alleviate economic hardships. The racial problem in Africa was also discussed.

EVANSTON, USA, August 1954. Second Assembly World Council of Churches. 1,500 church leaders from 48 nations expected to attend. 100,000 expected for public rally on Sunday, August 15.

Christ's Golden Rule and war

By Canon

R. G. F. WADDINGTON

MOST people today know what is meant by "The Golden Rule," and it is not claiming too much if I say that most people give at least mental assent to it.

But how to put it into effect? There's the rub.

Even in its Confucian, negative form, it might seem almost impossible of practice. How then can Christ's positive command come within the range of practical politics? I am to care for my neighbour's interests and welfare as much as for my own. And I am not to limit the word "neighbour" in any way whatever. Anyone, of any race or colour or language with whom I have any kind of contact, is my neighbour.

IRRESISTABLE

If this rule could be applied to nations, as to individuals then "sovereign rights," the cause of untold trouble in the world, would be completely abandoned. As for the Church, if the Church were true to that principle, the power of its witness would be irresistible, wouldn't it?

That single command of Christ is really quite enough to show that Christianity and War are incompatible, and no amount of argument can make them compatible.

The Christian's case against war does not rest upon any single text, however, not even upon a circle of similar texts set around the Golden Rule, and there are plenty of such texts ready to hand for anyone who knows his Bible.

"My kingdom is not of this world. If My kingdom were of this world then would My servants fight." "We wrestle not against flesh and blood... but against spiritual wickedness..."

The Christian builds his case, however, on the whole action and teaching of Christ, without any resort to theological subtleties.

Vast preparations for war are being made. There are two "rival empires," one of Communist, the other of Democratic culture; Russia and the USA. And each is afraid of the other. Each accuses the other of being the cause of all the trouble. Each declares that world peace would be possible if it were not for the imperialism of the other. Each is spending untold millions upon producing more, and more destructive, weapons of war. And each declares that this expenditure is made necessary because of the intransigence of the other. It would all be Gilbertian if it were not so appallingly tragic. "It's awful, we know, but we must defend ourselves against the devils of—Communism—of American imperialism"; say the respective sides.

QUIBBLING

Perhaps the Communist does talk with his tongue in his cheek. Perhaps he is not to be trusted. Perhaps the doctrines of Karl Marx are essentially evil. I for one, am prepared to say that such is my own personal opinion of Communism. But to talk about military "defence" against such an enemy is surely quibbling about the meaning of words.

To argue that these "defensive" weapons are our only hope of restraining Russia, and ensuring peace, is not only to abandon the whole teaching of Christ, it is to fly directly in the face of the plain verdict of all history.

When did preparations for war ever bring peace?

Most people—I am not considering the Hitler-minded folk, but trying to answer the non-

● On page seven

the Will of God" — First World Council of Churches, Amsterdam, 1948 F CHURCHES MEETS AGAIN

Pacifist Principle

BY A. J. MUSTE

The International Fellowship of Reconciliation has offered the following article by A. J. Muste as a contribution towards Christian thought. It consists of extracts from a longer article, "War, Politics and Normative Principle," which appeared in the *Ecumenical Review*, April, 1954.

I VENTURE to suggest that the thinking of leading Christians on both sides of the Iron Curtain as it relates to this problem is distorted and confused because their thinking—and certainly their behaviour—about the relation between the Church, on the one hand, and the nation and culture on the other hand, is faulty and indeed essentially non-Christian and out of line with a fundamental concept of prophetic religion.

Their standing-ground and base of operation is within the nation, not the Church, within the secular culture rather than within the Kingdom of God or in the context of the Gospel. The Churches of East and West alike are consequently unable to fulfil the function of passing judgment on the culture and nation with which their life is deeply enmeshed. They are, therefore, also unable to serve as reconciling and healing forces, as Churches partaking of the character of universal nation-transcending and culture-transcending fellowships in Christ might do.

Churches on each side have no difficulty in seeing that this is true of Churches on the other side.

Church subject to politics

It seemed to me extremely significant that Dr. Hromadka a few months ago, taking his brethren to account for being oblivious to the extent to which they were prisoners and mouthpieces of the nations and culture of the West, then concluded with what amounted to a plea that he be permitted to operate in much the same fashion within a Communist nation and culture!

Under these conditions the "Ecumenical Church" remains largely a victim of political divisions and powerless to effect a political counterpart to its professed spiritual unity.

The Dun Commission* spoke of pacifists giving a clearer witness to the way of love than those can give who accept responsibility for coercion in civil society." It is later made clear that war to restrain "the brutal and irresponsible violence" of Communist bloc countries may be required of those who accept "responsibility" for world order. The assumption in such presentations as this is that to behave responsibly is to place oneself in the historical situation of the moment and to accept the fact of the nation-state—such as the United States—and its power. Operating in this context, Christians and the Churches must "place restraint on power, keep it within bounds." Any other behaviour, such as that of the Christian pacifist, is tainted with "irresponsibility" even though it represents a clearer and less ambiguous witness to the way of Christian love. It is taken for granted that an interpretation of Christian duty which required a top functionary to resign from the Pentagon or State Department is lacking in "responsibility."

Leaven—not sugar-coating

I refrain from discussing the nevertheless pertinent question whether the occasional ecclesiastical pronouncements against preventive war or first resort to atomic weapons by the United States do mean that actual restraint is placed upon power—other than that exercised by the proverbial man riding on the back of a wild elephant. What concerns us in this paper is the more basic insight of prophetic religion that it is never the business of the Church to encourage the uncritical acceptance of the power situation of the moment as the context within which alone responsible action can take place.

It is the business of Christians and of the Churches to raise prior questions as to whether power may not have been acquired irresponsibly, whether it may not be "demonic" in character and represent a judgment of God rather than a reward or blessing upon the nation ("power tends to corrupt"); and whether the instrumentalities power employs are not diabolical in character and suicidal in effect, inherently unfitted to serve the ends either of justice or of love. Salt and leaven, not sugar coating, are the evangelical symbols for the function of the Church and of the Christian in relation to the State and culture.

Let us attempt to state briefly the scriptural concept of political or social ethics, of the operation of the divine in history, which is suggested by these symbols. In an essay on

*"The Christian Conscience and Weapons of Mass Destruction." Report (1950) of a special Commission appointed by the Federal (now National) Council of Churches of Christ in America.

"The End of Machiavellianism*" Jacques Maritain observes that common practice proceeds on the assumption "that good politics, politics conformable to its true nature and to its genuine aims, is by essence non-moral politics." This is in accord with the modern secular approach in which politics, economics, science, etc., become autonomous spheres not related to religion and not subject to basic or absolute moral standards. Machiavelli's distinction, to allude to Maritain's essay again, "consists in having accepted, recognised, endorsed as normal the fact of political immorality."

Martin Buber's approach

This is diametrically opposite to the prophetic approach which is impressively set forth in a recent book by Martin Buber based on a series of lectures he delivered in the United States a year or two ago.†

The fundamental character of the principle which serves as the organising force of a "great civilization," he suggests, "is always a religious and normative one—a religious one, because it always implies an attachment of human life to the absolute . . . and a normative one, because the principle, though always relating to transcendent Being controlling the universe, proclaims that Being as exemplary for Man, an example for all forms of human behaviour . . . on whose realization on earth by Man depends, in fact, the survival of Man qua Man." All spheres of existence, Buber continues, are determined by their relation to this normative principle: "Wisdom wants to explore its action, Art to lend shape to it, and where one strives to set public life itself to rights, one looks up to the stars and beyond them."

In view of current discussions on the nature of "civilization" and "history," it is worth noting that Buber points out that in prophetic religion "civilization is mysteriously both affirmed and negated: God wants Man's entire civilisation—but not as left to itself but as hallowed to Him, God." In this "religious realism" there is "no room for a truth remaining abstract, hovering self-sufficiently above reality. . . . Every truth is bound up with a demand which man, the people, Israel, are called upon to fulfil integrally on earth." On this civilization-negating and affirming faith, hope rests secure. "Civilization, despairing of itself, will offer itself up to God and be saved by Him: This realistic faith in the future of God's image . . . cannot be dismissed with the cheap slogan 'civilization optimism' . . . or Utopianism, in other words."

As a Christian theologian put it some years ago, it is the business of the Church to be alive in a higher order than that of the secular society in which it exists at a given time. Jacques Maritain in an essay on "Religion and Culture"‡ to which far too little attention has been paid in recent years speaks of making the wisdom and energies of the Spirit potent in the temporal order. "One who makes it his first principle to advance with the times, or to make the times advance and to march in step, binds himself in so doing to collaborate with all the agents of change. He finds himself in very mixed company." He continues: "We are not co-operators with change; we are co-operators with God." It is not the duty or the right of the Christian to absent himself from history. On the other hand, "Eternity does not vacate time; but possesses it from on high. Our duty is to act on history to the limit of our power, God being first served."

The ethic of obedience

A young neo-orthodox theologian, Edward Leroy Long, Jr., has approached the same basic aspect of the prophetic and Christian worldview by pointing out in a small volume entitled "The Christian Response to the Atomic Crisis" that a calculative ethic eventually lands us in confusion and destruction. Such an ethic relying "solely upon analysis of the given factors of a situation in deciding its course of action" and depending "solely upon historical accomplishment for its vindication" works well enough in ordinary situations. Even then, this may be because the individual or the society has in the background a more ultimate frame of reference.

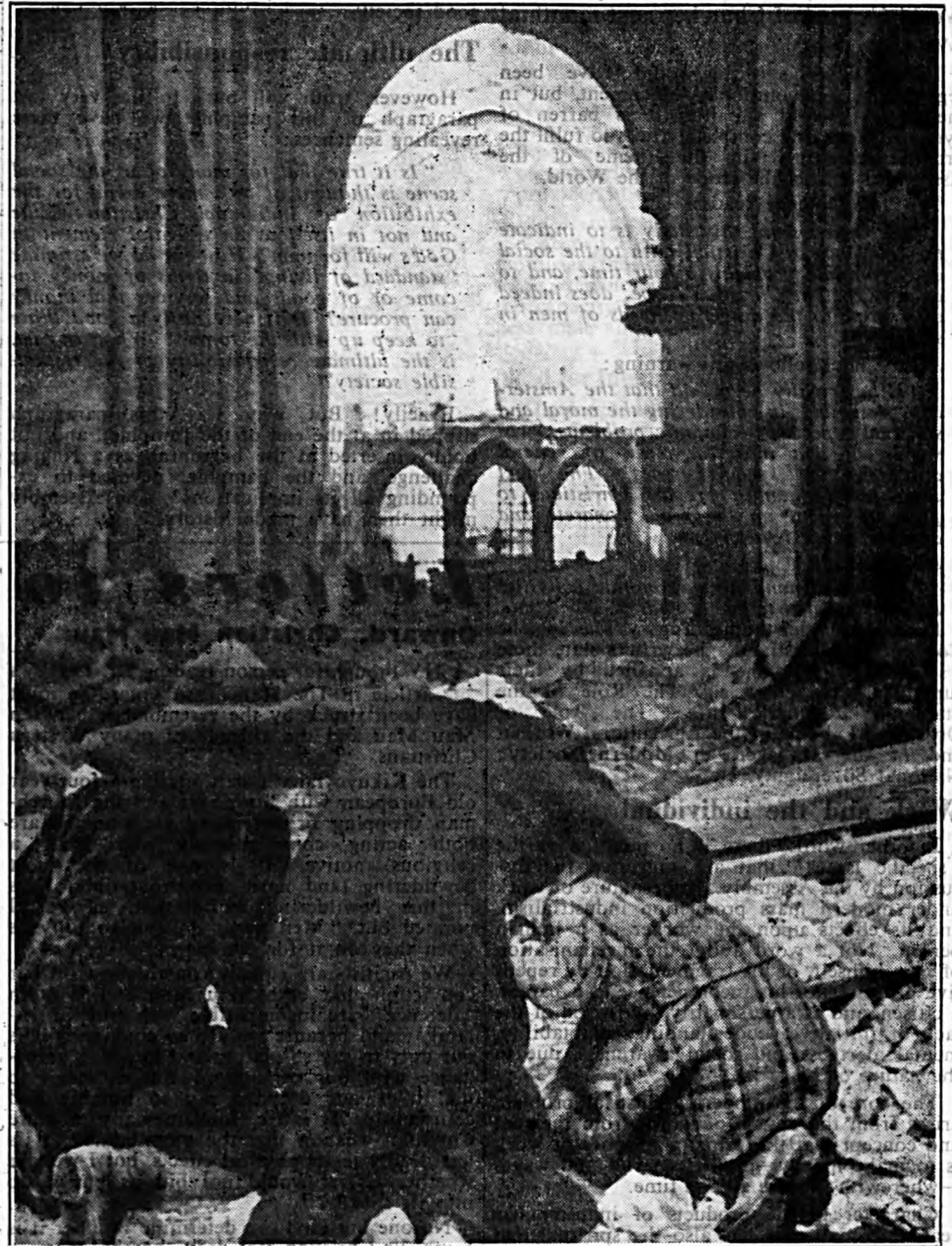
But Dr. Long asks us to consider the case of two automatically armed nations coming into conflict. To fight in such a situation means to commit suicide, or run the grave risk of doing so. Not to fight means capitulation to tyranny. To seek to tread a middle course means an armed truce in which "virtually" all the energy of both nations is channelled exclusively toward maintaining the military potential keeping the balance of power." Or, one might suggest, the situation of three powers involved in "permanent war," depicted in Orwell's "1984." It is clear, as Dr. Long suggests, that there is "very little guidance to be found in such a situation by analysing the available alterna-

*"The Range of Reason," by J. Maritain, New York, 1952.

†"At the Turning: Three Addresses in Judaism," New York, 1952.

‡"Freedom in the Modern World," by J. Maritain, New York, 1936.

"SUFFICIENT IS THINE ARM ALONE . . ."



With its dome shattered, its stained glass windows destroyed and choirstalls charred, this great church, somewhere in Europe, has once again suffered at the hands of war, once again it witnesses the grief and anguish of war's victims. —Weltkrieg im Bild.

tives." What possible scientific meaning can "calculation" of the lesser evil have in this context?

The Christian ethic is not such a calculative ethic, but rather one of "obedience" to the will of God. "Christianity has nothing in common with the view that morality is a habit or an etiquette." In other words, "Calculative morality, as a secular ethic, depending on nature and history alone, is, in the light of man's capacity to disrupt nature-history, ultimately insecure." A religious, Christian ethic, however, discovers obedience in a situation in which calculation becomes less and less possible, makes possible "the leap of faith" which alone ultimately provides the means for dealing with ultimate issues.

There are, basically, two ways in which the Church and the Christian in obedience to the teaching, example and spirit of their Lord act on history to the limit of their power, and become the instruments through which eternity possesses time from on high, the Spirit judges, redeems and transforms the temporal order, and Christ overcomes demonic forces in history. One way may be characterized as indirect, the other direct.

Indirectly, without any conscious and direct purpose to change the course of history, the Church serves as the "channel" of grace and powerfully affects the temporal order, just by being the Church. "Let the Church be the Church" is a statement, the importance of which can hardly be exaggerated—provided it is correctly understood. The Church is the force which in the name and by the power of God judges, redeems, and transforms the temporal order by being itself a universal fellowship in Christ in which there is neither Jew nor Gentile, East nor West, American nor Russian, since Christ is all and in all.

Where such a fellowship exists, the purpose of history, of human life on earth is being fulfilled. The Kingdom of God is in the midst or "within reach" of this fellowship of believers. For the Kingdom of our Father is not a city of peace and love in the future, which is going to be built by means other than love and peace. The Kingdom is not something which can be constructed out of specific materials as a table is built of wood, nails and glue. We are not and cannot be makers of history, as carpenters are makers of houses. For the Kingdom means divine-human relationships, relationships of love and peace among human beings who are inspired and fused into a fellowship by the divine love and peace which came down and dwelt among men. The Kingdom is love and peace among men who respond in gratitude to the love and peace of God, who "first loved" them and thus

made forgiveness and a "new man" possible. Where there are human beings living in such relationships, "Whatever their name or sign," it is because Christ is in the midst of them, and there you have the True Church.

The vocation of such a Church is to preach the Gospel, both by word and by life, the word growing out of the life in fellowship and the life in fellowship illustrating and validating the Word which it performs must proclaim. The vocation of the fellowship is to be alive in a higher order than that of the secular society, is healing, mercy, reconciliation, peace. Its members are, as the Beatitudes point out, the peacemakers who, being by virtue of their peacemaking Sons of God, are blessed. This is to say that the vocation of the Church is a pacifist one.

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WILFRED WELLOCK examines "The Responsible Society in a World Perspective," one of the documents prepared for the meeting of the World Council of Churches.

Yet another evasion

THE ten-page Ecumenical Study "The Responsible Society in a World Perspective" is one of the themes to be discussed at the second Assembly of the World Council of Churches next month at Evanston, USA.

Thirty years ago it would have been regarded as a revolutionary document, but in the present world situation it is barren of dynamic ideas, and completely fails to fulfil the promise contained in the theme of the Assembly: Christ the Hope of the World.

The first sentence reads:

"The purpose of this study is to indicate the relevance of Christian faith to the social and economic problems of our time, and to enquire if 'The Christian Hope' does indeed offer hope to the desperate needs of men in society."

A little later follows this warning:

"It has rightly been said that the Amsterdam Assembly, in considering the moral and spiritual aspects of economic problems, 'was significant, but more in terms of general attitudes than specific issues.' The next Assembly . . . must prepare Christians to pass judgement on the more concrete and difficult social issues."

And then:

"Justice demands that economic activities be subordinated to social ends . . ."

But when, under the heading: "The Specific Concerns of Christians," the writers state these "specific issues," one is appalled by their superficial character: e.g. The Role of the State in Economic Life; The Role of Organised Labour, of the Agricultural Worker, and of the Manager, in Modern Society; National Sovereignty, etc.

Work and the individual

In other words, there is no mention in the "specific issues" that are suggested for discussion by the Assembly, of the nature of work under modern mass production industrialism, and its effects upon the worker as a human person. Not a word about the mechanisation of man himself, of his fragmentation by repetitive processes, of his incompetence as a parent, a citizen, and as a personality, by reason of the lack of initiative, understanding, adaptability, mental alertness and social awareness, due to the nature of his work.

The core of the modern industrial problem arises from the nature of work, from the fact and concept that the primary purpose of work is to make money—profits, salaries and wages—wherever to have a good time.

Character in the products of industry has ceased to matter as has also the spiritual and social effects of their making.

Houses may be skimmed and most things cut to the bone, and a deadening monotony prevail in every human habitation, but all is well, apparently, providing the result is high standards of living, which in general means ample money for unintelligent spending, since education for living is also a perishing concept.

Is there no body of opinion in the church which recognises that the main function of work is to make men, and that only work which does make men, calls forth all their creative powers, their imagination and emotions, can make that beautiful world we now await with scant hope?

Today the churches are making frantic efforts to bring back the people into their midst, but they will never succeed until they recognise that the materialism they are up against is not a superficial matter which people can put on and pull off like a coat, but is integrally connected with their daily life, the nature of their daily work, the deadening monotony of soulless money-making. This basic fact makes religion meaningless. What percentage of modern work can be performed to the glory of God?

Modern industry's failure

The failure of this pamphlet is the failure to recognise the condition and function of man in modern industry. This is all the more tragic because in dealing with the under-developed countries, the pamphlet assumes that what the latter need is the uplift of ample doses of Western industrialism.

They have never heard of Gandhi's protest against the idea of India copying the West in this respect, and of his alternative of Village Republics!

What hope for mankind would there be were the entire coloured world to develop Western industrialism at the rate we have done, and enter the mad competition for world markets, with its inevitable armaments' competition?

It cannot be too strongly stated that there can be no "Responsible Society" without responsibility for "everyman" in society. In the last analysis, the mass-production society will be a mass-man, or totalitarian, society, which is what the West is rapidly moving towards.

A "Responsible Society" must be constituted by the British Council of Churches.

Atomic information

"I, personally, cannot appreciate any connection between Christianity and war. Christ certainly knew nothing of our difficulties."

—L. E. C. Hughes, Institute of Atomic Information for the Layman, The Listener June 24, 1954

tuted of men and women who in their daily avocations are able to express their minds and souls in creative, satisfying labour in the knowledge that they are making their maximum contribution to a beautiful world and a good society.

The ultimate responsibility

However, truth will out. In the very last paragraph of this pamphlet we have these revealing sentences:

"Is it true that for many of us the social scene is thought of as a mere arena for the exhibition of individual Christian virtue and not in itself as an essential element in God's will for man? How far do we estimate 'standard of living' in terms of money income or of goods and services that money can procure? Is it necessarily a good thing 'to keep up with the Jones'? What, in fact, is the ultimate responsibility of the responsible society?"

Exactly! But why was this paragraph slipped in at the end of the pamphlet, and not boldly inserted at the beginning as a ringing challenge, and the pamphlet devoted to expounding all its implications? The Assembly might then have made history.

Letters to the Editor

Onward, Christian Mau Mau

ANY thoughtful person reading Dr. Leakey's article in The Manchester Guardian must have been struck by the resemblance between Mau Mau and the attitude of many Western Christians.

The Kikuyu fanatic decapitating a four-year old European with his panga and the churchman dropping or defending atom-bombs are both acting conscientiously and from a religious motive. It is one of the most bewildering (and most incontrovertible) facts in this bewildering world that, as Pascal pointed out, "Men never do evil so fully as when they do it for conscience' sake."

We pacifists are equally conscientious in our conviction that both Mau Mau and Western "defence" are incompatible with true Christianity; and because we are so convinced it is our duty to say so plainly and to act in accordance with our conviction. But, it seems to me, it is our duty to say so humbly and courteously. Is satire, fundamentally, a more Christian weapon than the atom-bomb? It is less deadly in its physical effects, but I wonder whether Christ would not bid us put it up into its sheath?

No one but God can determine whether it is more un-Christian to drop bombs from a sincerely religious motive while loving the victims—which amazingly, as it seems to us, is what some of our fellow-Christians claim to be possible—or to chastise our fellow-Christians with a scorpion of satire and scorn, which, it seems to me, is what Reginald Reynolds has done.

I may be quite wrong: it may be that he would claim, and be justified in claiming, that he is following Christ in denouncing the Bishops as Christ denounced the Pharisees. It seems to me that the quality of Christ's denunciation was different: that there was anger in it but no scorn.

SUSAN MILES.

Romany Cottage,
Moggerhanger, Bedford.

Church and War

THE Rev. Hutchison Cockburn, when Moderator of the Church of Scotland, said that if ever the Militarists decided to use bombing tactics that would mean bombing civilian populations, the Church would draw the line there. William Robertson, the then local Peace Pledge Union Secretary, wrote and congratulated him on taking that stand.

Some months after that when "Bomber" Harris announced the change of policy to "obliteration bombing" of working class districts, Wm. Robertson wrote to the Moderator reminding him of his letter, quoting the date and his words, and asking him if the time was not now come when the Church would, in accordance with his promise, take a stand.

There was no acknowledgement from the Moderator; there was no protest later from the Church of Scotland over the infamy of Hiroshima. Is there any depth of infamy which would rouse the Church to make a real protest, or must they advocate using the devil's weapons to defend the truths taught by Jesus, while acknowledging that war is contrary to the will of God?

ELSIE GRANT.

10 Westfield Place, Dundee.

The Christian witness

DR. A. D. BELDEN, of the Pax Christi League, is absolutely right in his diagnosis (if I interpret it correctly), that the Christian witness for peace is largely ineffectual because the Christian Church too often speaks with a divided voice. Conversely, until all Christians can unite constructively for peace, there is humanly speaking, little hope of the greater Unity for which Christ prayed. The two issues are very much connected and the Pax Christi League is right to stress the importance of this.

The Evangelical Catholic Communion (which is not a Church in the sectarian sense), has always stood firmly for these vital principles. Our late Bishop, Vernon Herford, is remembered as a great Christian pacifist, zealous for the good of all, the animal creation

THEY OCCUPIED OUR COUNTRY

WHEN I heard in the early morning of May 10, 1940, during a tour through the north of our country, that the German army had invaded our eastern frontiers, I knew that now the time had come to stand for our Christian pacifist way of life.

Our "war" lasted only five days, ending with the bombing of Rotterdam, but the "peace" that followed was for us the beginning of the real war on the psychological, spiritual and Christian level.

During the first year of the occupation we still had some freedom. Meetings of more than twenty persons were forbidden, but we were able to have such meetings secretly in several places, and these meetings were visited by some of our council members. But difficulties began to increase.

In March, 1941, all activities and publications of "non-commercial" organisations were stopped and their possessions were confiscated. Our society (Church and Peace, the Dutch Fellowship of Reconciliation), was ordered abolished, and the invaders intensified their efforts to nazify our cultural life. We had to face the fact of the spiritual occupation of our country by the totalitarian nazi-system, and the challenge to stand and fight for our cultural values and Christian beliefs. And this not by inhuman and un-Christian means but in the way of Christ (Ephesians VI: 10-18).

The intolerableness of this regime reached its peak in the inhuman persecution of our

A Dutch pacifist tells of the resistance, violent and non-violent, to the Nazi occupation, and of the ethical problems it raised.

J. B. Th. Hugenholz is one of the leading figures of the Kerk en Vrede (Church and Peace, the Dutch Fellowship of Reconciliation), having served in the past both as Chairman and International Secretary. During the war he was imprisoned for nine months for hiding Jews in his home.

Jewish countrymen and the systematic enslavement of our working people. Protestant and Roman Catholic churches alike protested, and courageous citizens of Amsterdam showed their solidarity with the Jews by the famous strike of February, 1942.

The Underground

Underground organisations arose from different segments of our people. Some sought to make contact with the allied forces and to help young people join the army in England; some existed to help hidden Jews and other persecuted people by finding shelter and food (ration cards) for them; some distributed secretly printed underground papers and pamphlets, fabricated passports, robbed the rationing-bureaus, and organised violent resistance by assisting airborne soldiers, distributing parachuted weapons and successfully liberating imprisoned comrades.

We pacifists frequently came in contact with these partisans. It was clear to us that we could not participate in the violence, but it was equally clear that we must contribute to the defence of our cultural values: respect for the human personality, and freedom of thought and expression, which evolves from the Christian love for God and neighbour without any exception or discrimination.

Thus we helped spontaneously, along the line of the organisation to which we belonged, all those who were persecuted and needed our help.

This was our determining principle, and in all honesty we felt no conscientious scruples at using falsified passports to help our Jewish friends where the only alternative was to deliver them to the murderous Nazi regime. Nor were we greatly troubled in distributing ration cards, by the knowledge that they had been stolen, sometimes violently. (Most of the hundred thousands of the cards were stolen without bloodshed, however, with the help of the Dutch officials themselves!)

Personally I was never obliged to lie to a German, and only once did I remove by chemical means the letter J (indicating Jewish origin) from a passport thus quickly changing a Jewish friend into an Aryan superman!

Nevertheless, I am sure that in the case of the danger of death to a Jewish friend (and all Jews were condemned to death!) I should have refused to tell the truth. I believe that there is a difference between a "lie" forthcoming from love for your neighbour and a "lie" at the service of egotistical interests. In ethics the spiritual intention is decisive, but otherwise we must be careful not to sanctify all means! Anyhow, this compromise between our genuine love for man and the sinful situation of human life that stands in our way, shows us how connected our life is with this world which is corrupted by sin—also our sin! In such a situation may God help us.

Need to compromise

Recently a commission on non-violent resistance instituted by the council of Kerk en Vrede, studying the problems of non-violent resistance in a violent world, considered the matter of absolute devotion to truth in defending our cultural values and protecting persecuted people. It asserted that circumstances such as these could coerce a Christ into accepting compromise. Although I am conscious of the terrible complications of the moral obligations and human possibilities that compose the compromise, we have to envisage the danger that truth in this case is no longer the norm of life, but that compromise takes the place of the norm that God has given us in our conscience and the revelation of His will in the person and life of Jesus Christ.

Another no less important point of view connected with this problem is the reality of God's Providence. As Christians we believe that God's blessing can rest only upon decisions made in obedience to His law of love and truth. In danger, however, man is apt to take Providence in his own hands and to lose his trust in God and the ways and means He shows us in the deepest reality of our conscience.

We who would follow the way of the Cross in our international relations, refusing our support to military defence, ought not to forget that the use of non-violent means itself is, from a natural and worldly point of view, a great risk if not a foolishness. Experience, nevertheless, has taught us that even this method has produced unexpected "results" in converting the spirit of aggressive enemies.

Too little, are we conscious of the fact that the Cross of Christ is the real sign of the Providence of God: a "stumbling block" and a "foolishness" for the natural man, but the highest revelation of the wisdom of God, the only way to salvation of mankind.

As Christian pacifists who are making in the history of today the first unsteady steps toward a non-violent community of men, it is necessary that we should implicate the Cross of Christ more and more in our human relations, in readiness to bear His Cross in the service of the Kingdom of God and the life of our neighbour.—Fellowship.

as well as the human. Above all, he spent his whole life labouring for genuine Christian unity and social justice. Those who value these principles today are invited to join us in continuing that noble work.

(Rev.) G. F. TULL.

101 Dalmally Rd.,
Addiscombe, Surrey.

Wages of Fear

I AM surprised at the unanimity with which men in the peace movement praise the film "Wages of Fear." As far as I can judge, women, pacifists or not, take a very different view. But this is, even if on a very deep level, still a matter of taste, and I will content myself with pointing out to my correspondents that the film is marked "A" and not "X," and also, ask them, if they are interested in opinions contrary to their own, to read Miss Dilys Powell on this film in The Sunday Times (February 14). I am quite happy to be numbered among the cranks—"little things that make for revolutions."

The point which Mr. Deutsch made about censorship seriously troubles me. While I have always been on the side of freedom of expression, I should like to see the whole question of censorship, particularly of films and television, which command a huge and largely haphazard public, re-examined not forgetting that the censorship of the box office we have always with us.

GWYNETH ANDERSON.

170 Adelaide Rd., N.W.3.

German rearmament

I MUST apologise for not taking you seriously when you suggested that Moscow Radio should give publicity to the case for rearming Hitler's generals. But I see you were serious, though it is indeed a strange suggestion to come from a pacifist.

It is not Moscow Radio that has staged a heavily weighted "debate" in favour of German rearmament. It is not the Soviet people who are sharply divided on this issue. Moreover, the rearming of Germany or any part of Germany by the West without Soviet agreement is a direct violation of our Twenty Year Treaty which provides for a solution of the German question by "mutual consent" of both Britain and the USSR.

While the BBC could find—if it wanted—millions of people to oppose German rearmament and even to support the Soviet view on this, Moscow radio would certainly find it hard—after the war experiences of the Russians—to find any Soviet citizen ready to support Britain's violation of the Twenty Year Treaty and the rearmament of Germany.

The basic question is not that Moscow should permit radio propaganda for German rearmament, but that we in Britain, of all politics and creeds, who see the danger of German rearmament, should unite our forces to secure that it does not take place. The Russians will certainly co-operate with us in seeking a solution that prevents a revival of the threat of German militarism.

PAT SLOAN,

British Soviet Friendship Society,
36 Spencer Street, London, E.C.1.

We made no such suggestion as that "Moscow radio should give publicity to the case for rearming Hitler's generals." What we urged was that if it was desirable, as the British Soviet Friendship Society had urged, that facilities should be given for the statement of the official Russian view over the British broadcasting system, it was equally desirable that the Russian British Friendship Society should work for a better understanding with this country by asking that facilities should be provided on the Russian broadcasting system for the statement of the official British view on the military arrangements that link up Russia and the Eastern bloc. We had no anticipation that it would be possible to find a Russian citizen to do this.

We must make it clear that we do not claim that the British official view is justified; merely that it would be better for international understanding if the average Soviet citizen could be made acquainted with what it is.—Ed.

* More Letters on back page

WAR ON WANT: A new study outline

"DESPERATELY poor, defenceless before famine and disease disabled by illiteracy" was the description given by Harry S. Truman to the underdeveloped countries. In "Problems of World Poverty" the author, J. C. Gray MA, examines the extent of this poverty, the forms it takes, what is being done and what can be done about it.

The book, which was commissioned by the Council for War on Want, is intended primarily for use by adult discussion groups. Not only does it explain the nature of the general problem by means of facts, figures, diagrams and maps, but by recommended reading, suggested questions and visual aids, indicates the road for more detailed study of specific aspects which may interest the individual reader.

The background of poverty

The under-developed countries, it explains, are those that comprise Asia (except USSR and Japan) and Latin America (except Argentina, Uruguay and possibly Cuba and Venezuela). Their inhabitants number more than 1,500 millions, three-fifths of the world's population, and their yearly income per head—so far as it can be measured and compared—rarely exceeds £50, it is sometimes as low as £10. They are mostly agricultural countries and anything up to four-fifths of their people are employed on the land.

All told two-thirds of the world's population go short of food and this in turn gives rise to mass diseases, like Malaria, which affects roughly 300 million and kills three million each year; bilharziasis, from which half of Egypt's 20 million suffer; yaws, hookworm, tuberculosis, trachoma and the venereal and gastro-intestinal diseases.

Figures in respect of the death rate, over-crowding and medical services all tell the same story.

The labour of sick and under-fed people is not productive and the community remains too poor to expand its medical services and so improve health. Such is the vicious circle.

The world wide campaign to abolish or reduce hunger and under nourishment, which commenced at the end of the last war, is co-ordinated by the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO).

The job of bringing new land under the plough, which involves reclaiming deserts, draining swamps, and bringing forest land under cultivation, is the task of the technologist. Difficulties are great.

The peasant himself is often ignorant, illiterate, wedded to old methods; methods themselves vary according to the combination of soil, climate and people; there is a shortage of skilled men willing to take risks and make decisions; holdings are too small and too scattered; the necessary capital is lacking.

Nevertheless the Gezira scheme in the Sudan, and the irrigation projects in Iraq point the way. Once results appear in all parts of the world, pioneer work will become exciting and creative.

would not dream of throwing a few hand-grenades into the street where the hooligan lives."

But if I am pressed to answer the question in its wider, international context, "What would you do?" my answer is that I would advocate complete disarmament. Not partial; not an agreed limitation, but complete.

If we English had the moral courage to be and to act as a Christian Nation should; if we had the moral courage to say that war is an evil thing and therefore we will neither prepare for it, nor pretend that self-defence demands such preparation; then I am quite sure that the world would rejoice, and other nations would quickly follow our example, for they, even Russia, would see that they had nothing to fear from us.

But if not, and if Britain were destroyed by her enemies, I would still insist that it is the right thing to do, the Christian thing to do, and that it would result in the salvation of the world from war. For it is the way that Jesus followed.

He could have called legions to His aid, and He could have led a rebellion against Roman Imperialism, and He could have roused Jewish patriotism to fever pitch. But He did not. He went to the Cross.

If that is not true, then Christianity is not true, and the teaching and example of Jesus are both alike humbug.

But if the way of salvation is the way of the Cross, then we are traitors to Christ if we reject that way, and say that it is impractical, unrealistic. Our unfaithfulness is the unfaithfulness of friends, and we are no better than Judas.

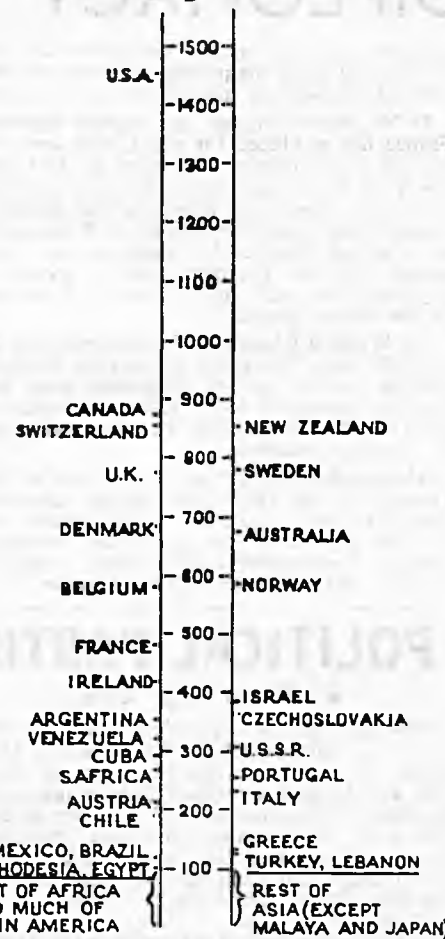


FIG. 1.

This again is a complicated task. Industry must not develop too fast or resources may be withheld from the all-important task of producing food. Public services must not lag behind industrial development or their inadequacy will eventually slow down the rate of economic progress.

New industries must not be established before there is a potential market for their

products. There must not be a too ready encouragement of consumption at first or not enough of the rising national income will be saved for future development.

In short, planning in poor countries means strict controls.

"It is however commonly agreed that capital from home sources will not be enough to finance development on the scale needed. At least one-half of the sum, according to a group of United Nations experts who went into the problem a few years ago, must come as loans or grants from the more developed countries of the world—Western Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand. This figure (£3,751,250,000 a year) is only 3 per cent. of the total income of these better off countries, yet hardly a sixth of it is being provided at the moment."

But it must be remembered that a country can absorb capital only to the extent that it mobilises the skills to develop industry and trade; technological skill, administrative skill, the capacity for enterprise that marks a business man and the literacy needed for office staffs.

Need for international action

All people of good will agree that some form of help must be given to the countries in need of development.

But a country not prepared to help itself cannot be rescued from poverty without a serious infringement of its political independence.

Broadly speaking the aid most needed is capital and technical assistance, and in most cases this can be achieved by governments acting alone, as do the imperial powers; in collaboration, as with the Colombo Plan; or by contributions to the United Nations and its specialised agencies.

Commenting on this work the author says:

It is not a crushing burden. If each of the wealthier powers gave up only 3 per cent. of its national income every year, the total amount would be enough, provided of course that it was well invested, to raise the income per head of the under-developed world by 2 per cent. a year. But the burden would fall mostly on tax systems already strained by the high cost of modern social services and defence.

The author briefly states the position in regard to population: "It has grown by nearly

On back page

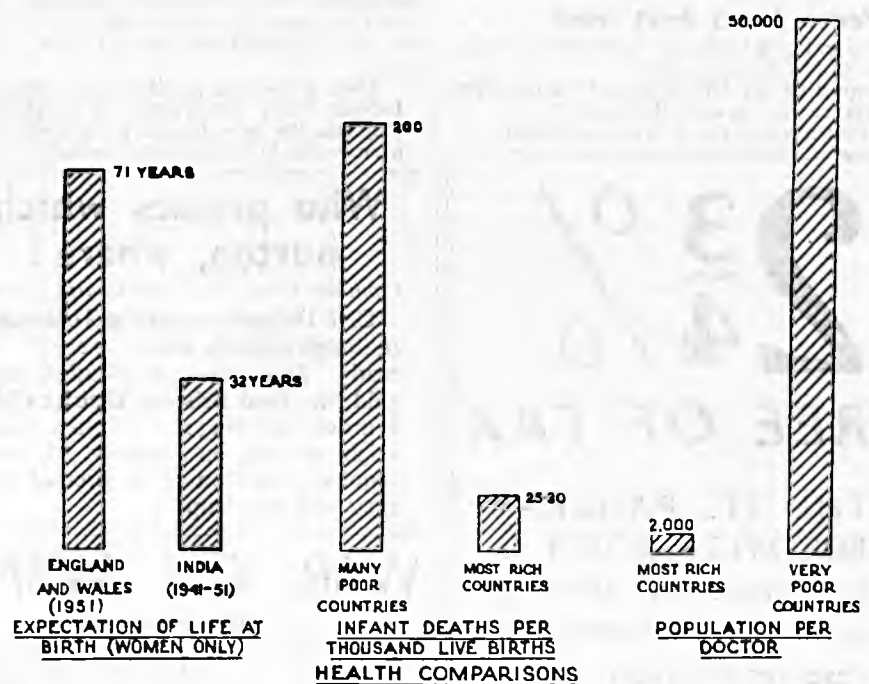
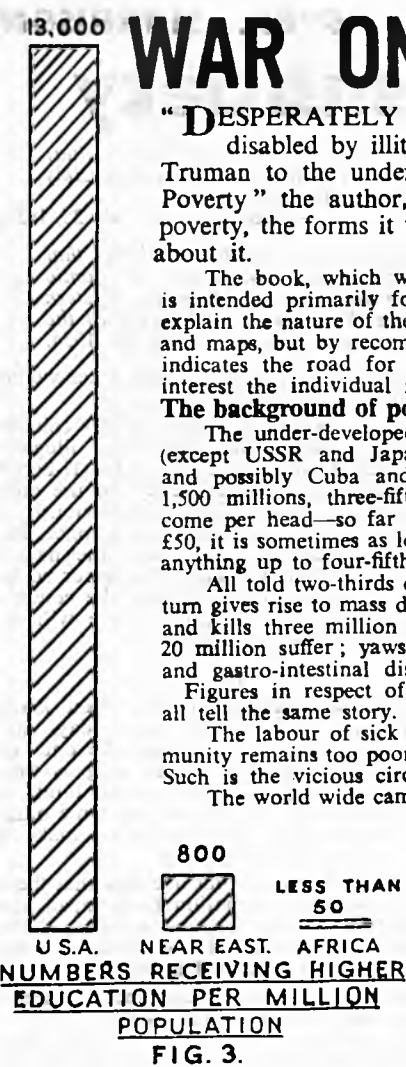


FIG. 2.



CANON WADDINGTON

From page four

pacifist who is a sincere lover of peace—will admit that war is an evil. Certainly the Leaders in our Churches admit this, Popes, Archbishops and all alike.

What then I very much want to know is this: Why does the Church adopt such a very different attitude to this evil of war, from the attitude adopted towards every other evil, murder, adultery, stealing and the like? No one ever thinks of calling these "necessary."

Why should war be deemed, in the present state of the world, a "necessary evil" about which we can do so little?

Of course, there are plenty of people who will immediately want to draw a "red herring" over the path of the argument by saying that we have our law courts and police forces to deal with these other evils, and in like manner we have our military forces to try to deal as effectively with the evil of aggression. But it is exactly at this point that the non-pacifist comes so tragically to pieces. Apart from the fact that he has evaded the real point in the argument, for no-one applies the word "necessary" to these other evils, he is really guilty of most careless thinking. There cannot be any comparison between War and Police action; the two are on entirely different planes, working in essentially different ways. Police must act within the limits of a strict law, and woe betide the officer—or the civilian for that matter—who takes the law into his own hands or who seeks to judge and decide his own cause.

I am often challenged—and I don't doubt that every pacifist is similarly challenged—with "What would you do if you saw a hooligan brutally ill-treating a child?"

I always answer it patiently. "I don't know what I should do, for I am a very small and rather elderly man, but I do know that I

Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning. Include: Date, Time, Place (hall, street), nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address) —preferably in that order and style.

Tuesday, August 10

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

Wednesday, August 11

NOTTINGHAM: 1.15 p.m.; Open-air mtg. Old Market Sq. Rev. Donald Pipe and others. FOR, PPU.

Thursday, August 12

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Miss D. Brombacher. "The Jew in the World Today." PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-1.45 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by clergy and laymen of different denominations.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Meeting of Pacific Youth Action Group. Every Thursday. PYAG.

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m.; Lincoln's Inn Fields. Open-air mtg. Sybil Morrison. PPU.

Saturday, August 14

LONDON, W.C.1: Night walk in Kent. Meet Charing Cross, Platform 1, 10.15. Bring food. 12 miles. Central London Group.

Sunday, August 29

LONDON, N.W.11: 3 p.m.; King Alfred School, North End Rd. London Area garden party. PPU.

Saturday, September 4

LONDON, W.C.2: "Renounce the H-bomb" rally. 1.45 p.m. Marchers and pipe band assemble at Endsleigh St., Euston. 3 p.m. Meeting in Trafalgar Square: Emrys Hughes, M.P., Victor Yates, M.P., John Hoyland and others. Chair Sybil Morrison. 5 p.m. Peace Exhibition, Bookstall and Buffet in Friends Meeting House, St. Martins Lane, followed by "Any Questions?" session, 7 p.m. FPC, FOR, PPU, APF, MPCC.

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ENGAGEMENT

BRIAN CUMMINGS, of 80 Muswell Hill Rd., London, N.10, to Ray Hiles, of 4 Hurstbourne Rd., Forest Hill, London, S.E.23.

MARRIAGE

PAULKNER—MILNER. July 24. At Kings Weigh Ho. Ch., London. Hugh Paulkner, of Romford, Essex, to Anne Carlton Milner, elder daughter of Mrs. Carlton Milner and the late Carlton Milner, of Kendal.

LITERATURE

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BACK TO DIPLOMACY

NOW is the time, if this is so, to reopen the question of Germany. Mr. Dulles is trying to get in ahead with a rejection of any such proposal—this in itself will commend the idea to many.

It might perhaps be better to wait until the pressure of public opinion in Europe rises a little higher, until both sides are confronted with a situation as unmanageable politically as the French situation in Hanoi was unmanageable militarily. But this in itself might permit the advocates of German rearmament to push through irrevocable decisions—they are almost certain to try.

The test of Mr. Eden's conversion to British

independence, and of his repudiation of Mr. Dulles, will lie in his prompt acceptance of the renewal of German negotiations in principle.

If M. Mendes-France, the astutest diplomat France has produced for years, will apply to Europe the principles he applied to Asia, and above all if he recognises, as he may, the folly of leaving open any avenue along which a crusade might be launched from Washington, he will not tolerate the confluence of a re-armed Western Germany and a group of territorial demands for "liberation" backed by the United States.

Sir Winston Churchill's Locarno may not be a pacifist idea, but it has at least the merit of forcing an end to the crusading plan, and making impossible its revival under cover of the United Nations. That was almost certainly its author's intention.

Meanwhile, in spite of the decision of the German Social Democrats against disarmed neutrality, that cause is by no means lost. If the alternative is permanent partition between Communism and Nazism, ending in a world war, they may well think again.

SKYMASTER

□ From page one
THE NEWS CHRONICLE

In a leading article headed "Relax," the News Chronicle said:

"... it is disturbing to learn that American forces in the Pacific have been told to be quick on the trigger. This kind of order courts trouble.

"The Americans were resolute in their rescue operations and we should be grateful for that. But there is a difference between resolution and recklessness. Patience is a virtue in these tricky times."

THE DAILY MIRROR

Under the headline which led to a libel action when it was used with reference to Mr. Churchill in 1950: "Whose Finger on the Trigger," the Daily Mirror said:

"The Far East situation is dangerous because of its unreality. Red China is the greatest Power in Asia. She will remain so despite America's wishful thinking.

Yet, barely 100 miles from the Chinese mainland, Chiang Kai-shek nurses his half-million Chinese Nationalist troops. For what?

Chiang is propped up by America. "Incidents" are bound to happen with this fantastic set-up unless we can put some sense into it.

THE DAILY HERALD

"... the real objective of China and the Powers—must be to ease the tension. "There is no other way to avoid the 'unfortunate accident' of war."

In Peace News next week...

... the text of a letter sent by the Peace Pledge Union to Mr. Anthony Eden.
... report of the S.W. Regional Labour Party Conference on German Rearmament.
... latest news of the H-bomb campaign.

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Who presses which button, where?

From the Kent and Sussex Courier, June 18.

Civil Defence services in Tonbridge, although slightly under strength, are ready. The sirens are installed, and, said Mr. Fred Bristow, District Chief Warden, speaking at Tonbridge Lions Club meeting on Monday, "It only requires a button to be pressed and they will all go up."

WAR ON WANT

From page seven

900 millions since 1900 has more than doubled since 1850 and is five times as large as it was three centuries ago. The rate of growth today, one and a quarter per cent. per year—is four times as large as in the seventeenth century.

Two things must be remembered, however: that family size is closely related to the way of life in a community, and that already two developing countries, Japan and India, have become identified with public policies to control population growth.

So much for the main problems to be faced. What, it asks, can local "War on Want" committees and organisations do?

Educational work and political action take priority. While it is impossible to supplement the British Government official contributions for this work, there are many private organisations working in this field in need of financial aid, a list of which, together with accounts of some of the projects undertaken, is given.

Volunteers able and willing personally to undertake work in development schemes are advised to contact one of two voluntary organisations: The International Development Placement Association or the International Careers Research Group.

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Serpentine subtlety

The Communists will doubtless run their new State in the north (Indo-China) under the familiar and odious disciplines of their system, though they will possibly modify them in the early stages to make the pill go down more easily.

—Sunday Times, July 25, 1954.

Senior officers here (SHAPE Paris conference) are alive to the possibility that if the Russians started a war they might be subtle enough not to use the atomic bomb themselves, and thus place the onus of being the first to use it on the Western Democracies. If public opinion prevented this, the West would be deprived of the best use of its strongest weapon.

—Manchester Guardian, July 19, 1954.

IT is often said, and there is probably a great deal of truth in the saying, that most people incline to judge the motives and actions of others by their own motives and actions.

If this is true it might seem that the motives so often imputed to the Soviet Union by the statesmen and press of this country arise from the minds of those who would themselves be motivated by these peculiar "subtleties."

There is, at the moment, a good deal of public feeling about the whole question of the H-bomb, and a very large number of people seem to support the idea that this country

should declare that in no circumstances would it be the first to use it.

It is clear, as I have written in this column on other occasions, that this is an illogical and unthinking demand, since if the H-bomb is to be kept as a weapon ready for use only if someone else uses it first, then obviously it might just as well be abandoned at once, for the tragically simple reason that the nation which uses it first will have the power so to cripple, if not completely destroy the country against which it is used, that there will be little likelihood of any retaliation.

★

That the Governments of the West know this is made plain almost every day, and though they would like to avoid the onus of using it first they dare not, so long as they possess it and depend upon it, even think in terms of allowing it to be used by some other nation against them first, let alone make a declaration to that effect.

When they knew without question that there was no chance of retaliation from Japan, the Western Allies used the atom bomb, and the price of the immoral and fearful act is being paid in fear and falsehood today.

Considering all the circumstances it seems unlikely that Russia desires to start a world war or to use the H-bomb first, and therefore, apparently some means of putting them in the wrong needs to be found. And so this puerile propaganda is poured out, designed to show that if Russia refrained it would be for no good or moral reason, but, with a serpent's subtlety, for the purpose of pinning the blame upon the innocents!

The whole attitude is so reminiscent of children quarrelling that it is almost possible to hear their shrill, clear voices echoing down the ages, the actual cause of the quarrel forgotten, only the need to avoid blame and punishment remembered: "He began it—he hit me first!" "Oh! you story! It was you, you know it was you."

The question of who committed a wrongful act first has always been considered one of paramount importance, because that fact, once established, can be used as a justification for further acts of unkindness, rudeness, cruelty, or violence.

Yet, intelligent people know that justification is not the same as restitution, and that a life destroyed can never be restored by the taking of other lives whatever the alleged justification for the killing.

★

In the matter of the H-bomb, if it is used at all, it will not matter very much who began it, for it is unlikely that there will be left alive any human jury to make a decision as to where the blame lies.

It may be perfectly true that the Communists in Indo-China will, so to speak, "gild the pill," but plainly, any government will always endeavour to prove to those governed that they are better off under that particular government than any other. This is by no means peculiar to Communists!

If, instead of imputing to others ulterior motives for every move in the international and diplomatic field, the Western Powers were themselves to take steps to prove their own motives pure, by first of all renouncing the H-bomb on moral grounds, the world would not only be a safer place to live in, but there would be some hope for peaceful co-existence, and real peace between nations.

LETTERS

The Third Camp

I HAVE been interested in the movement for a Third Camp but from what I have read it seems, so far, to lack a leader or leading idea which is essential to movement in a constant direction.

Is there not one single idea behind which Christians and non-Christians, pacifists, humanists, and all good hearted people can rally, and which will give moral guidance in making decisions.

I believe there is: the idea of reverence for life, which attracted last year's Nobel prize to Albert Schweitzer, and which has world appeal.

As most readers will know, Albert Schweitzer abandoned a brilliant worldly career in the arts to study medicine and become a missionary doctor in Africa, partly because he felt the whites had a debt to pay for exploiting native people. The story of his life is an inspiring one. I believe he would make an inspiring leader of such a world movement, and suggest he be approached.

Would anyone with Third Camp leanings object to "Reverence for Life" as its banner?

M. H. TALBOT.

6 Purton Rd.,
Horsham, Sussex.

Neutrality for Britain

THE letter of Mr. Vincent (July 16) is the most sensible I have ever read, but why not enlarge the idea and form an Anglo-European Neutral Bloc to include all countries in Europe—Spain, Italy, etc.—and so form a gigantic alliance to abolish the H-bomb? We should then call on America to quit Europe within a short time at the orders of the AENB.

The danger of war comes from America, not Russia. Let Britain, France, Russia, Germany, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Norway, Sweden, Belgium and all the Central Powers, join us with headquarters at Geneva.

F. TURTON.

Royston,
Fitzroy St., Sandown, I.O.W.

Other letters on page six

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